

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01939 092027Z

73

ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 L-01

SP-02 PM-03 DODE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 IO-03 PRS-01 SSO-00

INRE-00 /054 W

----- 059754

O P 091838Z APR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1091

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 5204

S E C R E T USNATO 1939

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJECT: PROPOSED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN BRUSSELS, MAY 29-30

REF: USNATO 1909 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: ON APRIL 9, NAC HAD UNINSTRUCTED DISCUSSION ON POSSIBILITY OF MAY 29-30 MINISTERIAL BEING RAISED TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT LEVEL. UK, U.S., BELGIAN, FRG AND TURKISH PERMREPS EXPRESSED THEMSELVES IN FAVOR OF THIS PROPOSAL. FRENCH PERMREP EXPRESSED NO PREFERENCE BUT SOUGHT CLARIFICATIONS. CANADIAN, GREEK, AND DUTCH PERMREPS EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS. NO ONE SPOKE IN OPPOSITION. SYG LUNS REQUESTED AMBASSADORS SEEK INSTRUCTIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG LUNS INTRODUCED SUBJECT SAYING PERMREPS HAD AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A NATO SUMMIT BEING HELD ON MAY 29 AND 30, THE DATES PRESENTLY SET ASIDE FOR THE NAC MINISTERIAL, AND HE WISHED TO HAVE AN OFFICIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS,  
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 01939 092027Z

ALBEIT UNINSTRUCTED, ON "THIS INITIATIVE BY HMG."

2. PECK (UK) SUMMARIZED A REPORT FROM HIS GOVERNMENT ON THE ORIGIN OF THE UK PROPOSAL. HE SAID IT ORIGINALLY STEMMED FROM A

MARCH 27 CONVERSATION AT LONDON HEATHROW AIRPORT BETWEEN FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. HE SAID CALLAGHAN, REASONABLE PLEASED ABOUT THE PROGRESS IN CSCE BUT REALIZING THAT FAST WORK IS STILL NEEDED AT GENEVA, PROPOSED THAT, IF THERE IS TO BE A NATO SUMMIT BEFORE STAGE III, IT WOULD BE WELL TO RAISE THE SCHEDULED NATO SPRING MINISTERIAL MEETING TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT LEVEL. WHILE THE UK DOES NOT WISH TO DIMINISH THE CSCE, THEY FEEL THAT ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF SUCH A SUMMIT MEETING WOULD BE TO LOOK AHEAD BEYOND THE END OF CSCE, TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF REAL MEASURES OF MILITARY SECURITY IN EUROPE AND TO THE PROBLEMS OF GETTING THE SOVIET UNION TO BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATION ON MBFR, AND IN THE MEANTIME TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED TO MAINTAIN WESTERN DEFENSE.

3. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PLEASED TO HOST SUCH A MEETING, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO DETACH ANY SUMMIT MEETING FROM THE CSCE ISSUE ALONE IN ORDER TO EXAMINE THE BROADER RANGE OF ALLIANCE PROBLEMS.

4. DISCLAIMING INSTRUCTIONS, DE ROSE (FRANCE) AGREED IT WOULD BE BETTER TO LINK A SUMMIT WITH ISSUES BEYOND JUST CSCE. WHILE HE DID NOT BELIEVE SUCH A MEETING SHOULD ADDRESS "GLOBAL" PROBLEMS, HE DID THINK IT COULD MAKE A TOUR D'HORIZON OF THE SITUATION OF THE ALLIANCE. DE ROSE SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION IN ADVANCE OF ANY SUMMIT WOULD BE DEFINING WHAT TO DISCUSS AT THE MEETING. IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL MERELY TO REPEAT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE OTTAWA DECLARATION; RATHER HE SAW NEED FOR DIFFERENT, BUT EQUALLY, CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENTS IN ANY RESULTING SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE. FINALLY, DE ROSE SAID HE HAD BEEN SEEKING TO DETERMINE IF THE PROPOSAL FOR A SUMMIT MEETING WAS AN OFFICIAL INITIATIVE BY AN ALLIED GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE NOW CONSIDERED IT TO BE A UK INITIATIVE.

5. MENZIES (CANADA) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT IF PRIME PURPOSE IS TO CONSIDER CSCE, THE PROPOSED END-OF-MAY SUMMIT TIMING IS "PREMATURE." LUNS AGREED THAT THE MAY TIMING WOULD BE TOO  
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 01939 092027Z

EARLY IF THE SUMMIT WAS TO CONFINE ITS ATTENTION TO CSCE; HOWEVER, WHILE ANY SUMMIT WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS CSCE, THE AGENDA OF THE MEETING SHOULD GO BEYOND CSCE.

6. THEODOROPOULOS (GREECE) SAID HE IS SKEPTICAL ANY SUMMIT MEETING COULD PRODUCE THE KIND OF SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS WHICH, HE BELIEVED, THE PUBLIC WOULD EXPECT. HE SAID THE ALLIANCE IS FACED WITH A NUMBER OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS, INCLUDING TROUBLED RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE -- NOT ONLY BETWEEN HIS COUNTRY AND TURKEY, BUT INVOLVING OTHERS AS WELL. HOWEVER, HE DOUBTED THAT THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS OF THE ALLIES WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH NEW CONCLUSIONS. RATHER, THEY RISKED A RESULT WHICH WOULD BE SEEN BY THE PUBLIC AS MERELY A REPETITION OF "BANALITIES."

7. HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) AGREED THAT THE PUBLIC WILL EXPECT SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS. HE SAID HE WAS TROUBLED ABOUT THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE DATE FOR A SUMMIT MEETING, WHAT SUBJECTS WOULD BE DISCUSSED, AND WHAT WOULD BE THE STATUS OF THE CSCE AT THAT TIME. IF END-OF-MAY SUMMIT DEALT PRIMARILY WITH CSCE, IT WAS LIKELY THAT WHAT HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO SAY ON THE SUBJECT WOULD NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE VAGUE. THE DUTCH PERMREP CONCLUDED SAYING HE DID NOT WANT TO GIVE HIS COLLEAGUES THE IMPRESSION HE WAS AGAINST THE IDEA OF A MAY 29-30 SUMMIT, AS HE PERSONALLY HAD AN OPEN MIND ON THE QUESTION. CATALANO (ITALY) INTERVENED MERELY TO MAKE THE POINT THAT IF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HAD A TOUR D'HORIZON AT THE SUMMIT, THEY WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE TO CONSIDER THE STATUS OF CSCE.

8. AMBASSADOR BRUCE SAID HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS, CERTAINLY AS REPRESENTED BY MANY NEWS MEDIA, AN UNEASE ABOUT THE FUTURE STABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, NOW RATHER GENERALLY REPRESENTED AS BEING IN A STATE OF DISARRAY. NATO SPEAKS WITH MANY VOICES. THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WITH ONLY ONE--AND THAT IS RUSSIAN. THE QUESTION HAVING BEEN RAISED WHETHER THERE CAN BE ANY SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS FROM SUCH A SUMMIT MEETING, BRUCE SAID HE WOULD HATE TO THINK IT IS BEYOND THE COMPETENCE OF THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN NATIONS TO CARRY ON CONSTRUCTIVE CONVERSATIONS ON SUBJECTS OF COMMON CONCERN WHICH AFFECT THE FUTURE SECURITY AND GENERAL WELL BEING OF ALL OUR COUNTRIES. CLARIFYING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 01939 092027Z

BRUCE SAID THAT WHILE SOME MAY CONSIDER IT HERESY TO SUGGEST THAT CSCE IS SOMETHING LESS THAN OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE, HE COULD NOT HELP BUT THINK OF SUCH KEY SUBJECTS AS SALT AND MBFR AND OTHERS THAT WESTERN LEADERS MIGHT ADDRESS. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT NATO SIMPLY CANNOT FACE THE PROSPECT OF ITS HEADS OF GOVERNMENT GETTING TOGETHER BECAUSE THE RESULTS WILL INEVITABLY BE SORT OF A "DAMP FIZZ."

9. BOSS (FRG) SAID HIS VIEWS COINCIDE WITH THOSE OF AMBASSADORS BRUCE AND DE STAERCKE. THE PUBLIC EXPECTS THE ALLIANCE TO DO SOMETHING WITH RESPECT TO THE WORLD SITUATION.

10. ERALP (TURKEY) WARNED THAT PROPOSALS FOR SUMMIT MEETINGS TEND TO GATHER THEIR OWN MOMENTUM. HE FEARED THAT IF, AFTER ALL THIS SPECULATION, THERE IS NO MEETING, THE PUBLIC MIGHT SAY THAT NATO CANNOT EVEN MEET TO DISCUSS ITS PROBLEMS. ERALP FELT THE EVENT OF SUCH A MEETING MIGHT BE MOORE IMPORTANT THAN THE NEED FOR SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS.

11. DE STAERCKE POINTED OUT THAT IF THERE IS NO SUMMIT MEETING OF THE ALLIANCE PRIOR TO THE CSCE SUMMIT IN HELSINKI, THEN THE FIRST TRIP TO EUROPE BY PRESIDENT FORD IS LIKELY TO BE IN CONNECTION

WITH THE CSCE. HE THOUGHT THAT THE CREDIBILITY OF NATO WOULD BE DRAWN INTO QUESTION IF PRESIDENT FORD VISITED EUROPE AND DID NOT EVEN STOP AT BRUSSELS TO VISIT NATO.

12. LUNS REQUESTED AMBASSADORS TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION NEXT WEEK. BRUCE

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 18 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 09 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975NATO01939  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** NATO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t197504101/abbrzjgl.tel  
**Line Count:** 171  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** USNATO 1909 (NOTAL)  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <21 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PROPOSED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN BRUSSELS, MAY 29-30  
**TAGS:** PFOR, NATO, NAC  
**To:** STATE INFO MOSCOW  
GENEVA  
ALL NATO CAPITALS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006